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"THIS WILL TIDE ME OVER"

16,000 UNITE FOR SURVIVAL

SEE SUPPLEMENT INSIDE ON BLACK COMMUNITY SURVIVAL CONFERENCE



WE STAND ACCUSED



After 8 years of accusations, BROTHERS WALLACE BAKER, WILLIAM CRAIG, WALTER THOMAS AND RONALD FELDER are free on bail.

Eight years ago, on April 17, 1964, four Black youth were arrested for intervening in behalf of a group of young Black grade school children who were under attack by armed New York (Harlem) policemen. Even though as a result of this act, they were arrested that day and charged with assault on police officers, a few weeks later, they were again arrested. This second time, the charge was murder, murder of a white store owner, a Mrs. Margaret Sugar, who had been killed shortly after the April 17, 1964 incident

On March 31, 1972, those same four Black men were released from the New York City Jail, the "Tombs", on bail. In all of those eight years, Brothers Wallace Baker, William Craig, Ronald Felder and Walter Thomas have never set foot on the street; have endured three trials, all ending in hung juries; and worse, have suffered eight years of barbarous torture and brutality at the hands of New York pigs. They have never been convicted. They have been deprived of eight years of their lives on a mere accusation.

After subjecting the Brothers to his own "legal" harassment and intimidation as well as that of the prosecuting attorneys and courtroom pigs, New York Judge Martinis, trial judge for all those eight years, on Wednesday, March 29, 1972, reduced their ridiculous appeal bond of $75,000. to $5,000. each.

This sudden decision to reduce bail for the Harlem Four certainly didn't stem from a sudden sense of justice on the part of the State. It resulted from an effort by Martinis to avoid exposing his conversation regarding the Harlem Four with a probation officer connected with the case. According to their own laws, judges may not speak of cases outside of a court of law.

It is more than shameful, however, to think of eight years being snatched from four, young Black men, when one considers that the prosecution's case has been built all along upon the single verbal testimony of a man named Ollie Roe. Roe's weighty contribution amounted to his willingness to testify that he could positively identify and place each of the Harlem Four at the scene of the murder of Margaret Sugar, when it took place. However, Ollie Roe's one-time probation officer revealed in that conversation with Martinis that Roe had, in fact, never identified the Harlem Four, Brothers Wallace, William, Ronald and Walter, as the persons he saw leaving the murder scene. The probation officer used probation reports of his conversations with Roe to confirm this.

On March 22nd, Martinis had refused to hear defense arguments to present new facts and evidence into the case. This decision was based on Martinis' realization that he would be forced to testify about his own, illegal conversation with the probation officer and thereby be removed from the case. Martinis certainly didn't want to be removed, for he had only stayed with the case so long because he was trying to return a favor to the New York District Attorney's office, for its refusal to prosecute his (Martinis') very son, who had been involved in a drunken driving accident resulting in the deaths of other people. One week later, Martinis presented his "just" proposal to reduce bail.

The release of the Harlem Four after eight long and horror-filled years of pre-trial confinement, on the mere accusation of a crime, is only indicative of the depths to which fascists will plunge to break those, especially the Black youth, who dare to make one defiant move in behalf of the People. These four Black men have lost their youths in prison. However, they have retained their love for their people and the same courage to defend the People that hurled them into the hands of the State, targets of America's brand of fascism.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

THIS ISSUE IS DEDICATED TO L'IL BOBBY HUTTON. HE WAS THE BEGINNING

BORN: APRIL 21, 1950

MURDERED: APRIL 6, 1968



DETROIT'S BLACK COMMUNITY STILL UNDER "STRESS"

FIFTEEN YEAR OLD MURDERED BY "STRESS" PIG



Only 15-years old, CURTIS McCONNELL joins an every-increasing number of Black people killed by S.T.R.E.S.S.

In two previous editions of the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service (October 9, 1971 and March 18, 1972), we have published stories giving an account of the fascist practices of the infamous S.T.R.E.S.S. (Stop the Roberries Enjoy Safe Streets) Unit of the Detroit Police Department. Typical of the barbarous activities of this special pig unit, the following incident took place just four days after Black members of the STRESS Unit attacked the occupants of a Detroit westside apartment, which itself resulted in the murder of one of their own pawns of so-called law enforcement, Black Wayne County Deputy Sheriff Henry S. Henderson:

At about 8:45 pm, on Tuesday, March 14, 1972, five Black youths were attempting to patronize a white owned business located in Detroit's Black community. The Brothers were Curtis McConnell (15), Larry Biddings (17), William Poole (19), Michael Jones (17), and Calvin Bush (16), all good friends. During the time the Brothers were in the store, checking out the displayed foods, they were approached by the white owner and asked what they intended to purchase. Even though the five Brothers stated that they did want to get some potato chips, the racist white owner still instructed his wife to call the police, indicating he felt they had come to rob him. Because of this, the Brothers decided it would be best to leave that store, and thereby avoid unnecessary trouble. As soon as they had gotten a half block away from the store, two plainclothes members of Detroit's police department drove up beside the Brothers, saying that five Black youths were just too many to be on the streets together, and closing their remarks with, "Go home, niggers." These particular pigs had no knowledge whatsoever of what had just transpired between the five Brothers and the white racist store owner.

The pigs left. The Brothers went along, to go to another store to get the potato chips. Curtis, Michael and Larry waited outside of the new store, while William and Calvin went inside. This seemed the best thing to do, under the circumstances. While the three Brothers were standing outside, they observed a white man walking up the street. The white man the Brothers were watching happened to be a member of the Detroit Police Department. He was a member of the STRESS Unit. His name was Harry Bodger.

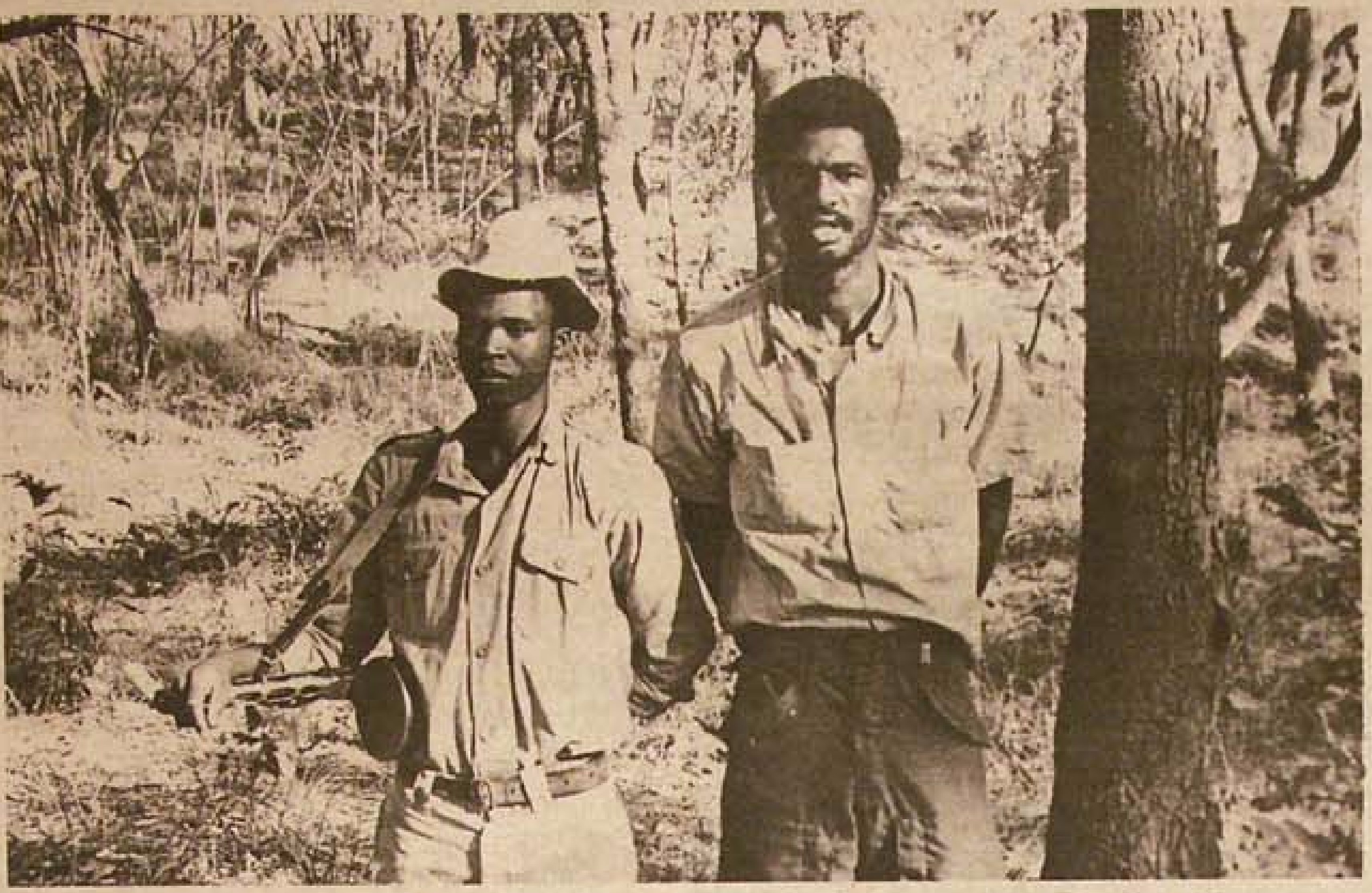
When William and Calvin came out of the store, the five Brothers started walking down the street again. They were walking in the same direction as pig Harry Bodger, who seemed to be stalling around. Once they reached Bodger, Brother William Poole asked Bodger if he knew how to get to a particular street on the westside of Detroit. Bodger said he didn't know. As pig Bodger walked further down to a darkened area of the street, he turned and called to the five unsuspecting Brothers, "Come here! I can give you the address now." Once the Brothers approached Bodger to get street directions, he began acting strangely. He started mumbling that he was "scared"; and not to bother him because he didn't have any money. With that, Bodger



Brothers Larry Biddings, William Poole and Michael Jones survived pig Bodger's butchery. They now must cope with the fascist court system.

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"TRADITION" USED TO OPPRESS AFRICANS



Comrade Fernando (left) of FRELIMO was the bodyguard to Brother Owusu Sadaukai, Mwalimu of Malcolm X Liberation University, Greensboro, North Carolina, during his stay in Mozambique's liberated zones.

Since 1964, the people of Mozambique (an African country that lies on the eastern shore in the Southern portion of the Continent), under the leadership of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), have been actively engaged in guerrilla warfare against the functionaries of the reactionary, colonialist Portuguese government. In that time, from 1964 to the present, the Mozambican people have liberated three provinces, established over 200 primary schools, hospitals and other programs to serve the people.

The following article, Inside Liberated Mozambique, and photographs are reprinted with permission of The African World newspaper, the news organ of the Student Organization for Black Unity, in which they appeared in an exclusive 6 part series at the beginning of this year. Due to the length of the article, The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service will only be able to excerpt information from the article, to be presented in a 3 part series. Because our struggle is one, because we suffer common ills under a common oppressor, let us review each other's experiences to enable us to unite for victory after victory:

NOTE: In the fall of last year, Owusu Sadaukai, Mwalimu of Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, North Carolina, went to Tanzania, in East Africa, to attend a conference on African education. During his visit, he spoke with members of several of the legitimate liberation groups in Africa on behalf of MXLU, the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU) and as a member of the international committee of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Development (IFCO), which was interested in supporting the liberation struggles.

For the past three years, two brothers from the United States - Bob Fletcher and Bob Van Lierop - had been planning an extended trip into liberated Mozambique to do a film and total audio-visual documentation of the FRELIMO struggle, in conjunction with Boubaker Adjali, a well-known Algerian photo-journalist. Shortly before the trip was to begin, Adjali became sick and FRELIMO officials extended to Sadaukai the opportunity to go into liberated Mozambique in Adjali's place.

Sadaukai's trip was to have lasted 16 days, but because the column came under attack from Portuguese troops and planes, the journey lasted instead 31 days. Along with Van Lierop and Fletcher, Sadaukai was among the first Africans from the U.S. to be taken into the liberated areas...

PART II

AN IDEOLOGY PUT INTO ACTION

...It is said by some that the ideology of a struggle grows out of the people's conditions, and such is definitely the case with FRELIMO. Ideologically, they see themselves at the vanguard of a struggle against international imperialism. Their fight is therefore not only against racism, which is an integral part of that imperialism, but also against feudalism, which is an important aspect of traditional African society. They are trying, according to their spokesmen, to build a society that eliminates "the oppression of man by man."

This ideological stance is never defined in terms of socialism or communism or Pan-Africanism or anything like that. One never hears them talk of Marxism-Leninism per se. They are fighting against Portuguese colonialism and fascism, they make that quite clear. They also point out that they are fighting an international system.

They know about NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) first hand, because of the non-Portuguese-made bombs and weapons used against them. They hear South Africa's propaganda being broadcast to them daily, so they know that apartheid is also on the side against them. And they know the life that they have lived under Portuguese rule and are determined to put an end to that.

Their ideological emphases develop a lot out of the particular zones in which they are active. The majority of our people in Africa do not live in the cities. They are rural peasants. And it is among these people that most of the Freedom Fighters have built their strength. FRELIMO is no different.

Where they are fighting now, there are few, if any, cities. Thus they do not face bourgeois groups of Black people working against them. When they move into the cities, then perhaps they will have to deal with that enemy; but for the time being, another enemy is closer at hand.

This is the exploitative nature of all too many of the aspects of traditional African society. This is a traditionalism, which, for example, exploits women, doesn't take full advantage of the labor force that exists, sends persons to witch doctors instead of hospitals, doesn't have people even knowing what a school is,

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SOLEDAD BROTHERS ACQUITTED

March 27th, 1972, brought about the acquittal of the remaining two Soledad Brothers, Fleeta Drumgo and John Clutchette. The 13-week trial ended with the Brothers found not guilty of the false charges of aggravated assault and murder on January 16, 1969, of Soledad guard John V. Mills. The all-white jury reached the verdict after over 29 hours of deliberation. This shall be passed off as justice.

Judge S. Lee Vavuris (who has, beyond doubt, proven himself as a racist) tried to convince the jury to convict the Brothers on a lesser charge of simple assault. Even this all-white jury could not accept his last chance efforts, in view of the flimsy case the State presented.

Due to the very obvious lack of real evidence, the verdict represented a token gesture of justice. Vavuris latched on to this token, in an effort to clear his racist record, for after hearing the verdict he made the statement, "If anybody can come up with a better system, I'd like to see it." The chains and shackles and bullet-proof courtroom are far from indicators of a just system, and millions of people have "come up with a better system". More than anything, however, there was the loss of years to two men.

However, the verdict in the case of the Soledad Brothers came too late to make any difference to our beloved Comrade George Jackson, whose name was even cursed in the courtroom after the State had murdered him. What can a not-guilty verdict mean to W.L. Nolen, Cleveland Edwards and Alvin Miller, the Black Brothers murdered on Soledad's yard on January 13, 1969, whose deaths were used as the excuse to get three more. What of Comrades Jonathan Jackson, James McClain and William Christmas, who were slain on August 7th (1970) for allegedly trying to help the Soledad Brothers escape. Brother Ruchell Magee's life was nearly taken that day, and still he faces life imprisonment; and Sister Angela Davis stands trial, faces life imprisonment and has forfeited one year of her life to the State on connected false charges. With all of this, Brother Fleeta Drumgo too faces charges, stemming from events at San Quentin prison on the day Comrade George Jackson was murdered. The State has done all of this, and expects this verdict to go down in history as justice.



BROTHERS JOHN AND FLEETA

Although John Clutchette may possibly return to the minimum security of the streets, since he is eligible for parole, he is still a part of a large mass of people who suffer America's oppression.

Therefore, with all of this in mind, we will still say, FREE THE SOLEDAD BROTHERS!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

WE ALL HAVE "BOUNDLESS PASSION" FOR COMRADE GEORGE

The State of California, in its efforts to gain a conviction in the trial of Comrade Sister Angela Davis, has used many devious and criminal methods to convince Angela's jury, along with the masses of people, that she is guilty as charged. She is charged with murder, kidnap and conspiracy to do both. These false charges originate in the August 7th Movement, the events that resulted from the revolutionary heroism of 17-year old Jonathan Jackson (the brother of Comrade George Jackson, Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party) on August 7, 1970, in Marin, California. According to the State of California, Sister Angela Davis was to have supplied guns to Comrade Jonathan as part of a so-called conspiracy that culminated on August 7th to free political prisoners.

California State Assistant Attorney General Albert W. Harris is plotting to link together one of the most elaborate chains of lies known to America's fascist trial history, which



COMRADE ANGELA

make the original lie (the charges) look meager. Harris, on behalf of the State, has spewed out of his racist lips that Sister Angela's "motive" for her alleged participation in the August 7th Movement was her "boundless passion" for Comrade George Jackson. Through the use of letters (illegally taken from Comrade George's personal possessions after his assassination) in typically-American and racist perversion, the prosecution translates the expression of human love as a "love-motive" on the part of Comrade Angela to carry out the acts with which they have charged her. The private correspondence between Angela and George, stolen by the State, reflects the deeply human quality of love that oppressed people struggling for their liberation have for each other. Angela Davis has certainly made no effort to conceal her undying devotion to the political prisoners incarcerated and languishing in America's prisons.

What is more appalling, however, is that the State so desperately wishes to silence Angela Davis, that it overtly bases an entire case, a charge of murder, on words exchanged between two human beings. Evidence and facts have been thrown out the window for emotional pleas from a sick system, which has not even the ability to understand "boundless passion".

We all loved Comrade George Jackson. That is well known. We love him as we love all our Black and poor, wretched people, who suffer and have suffered boundless horror in racist, fascist America. It is our love and the strength we shall receive in uniting around it which shall bring these evil gentry to their knees.

The trial of Angela Davis must be ended.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

THIS WILL TIDE US OVER TO LIBERATION



THIS WILL TIDE US OVER TO LIBERATION

On March 29th, 30th and 31st nearly 16,000 people, mostly Black people, gathered in the Northern California Bay Area to unite for survival at the Black Community Survival Conference. People had come to hear Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party; to enjoy the Persuasions' singing; and listen to the comments of Sister Johnnie Tillman of the National Welfare Rights Organization, State Assemblyman Lloyd Barbee of Wisconsin, Father Earl Neil and Rev. Frank Pinkard. More than that, however, 16,000 came to register in unity to vote, to receive a free sickle cell anemia test and pick up free, full bags of groceries, with a chicken in every bag.

The thousands that filled the Oakland Auditorium on the opening evening of the Conference, on March 29th, heard little of the usual speech-making and rhetoric that has plagued conferences, especially political ones, in the past. After a few short words from the speakers, Chairman Bobby Seale laid out the program: we had been talking about unity for years, and we've been talking about organizing for liberation for years. However, Chairman Bobby Seale pointed out, at this time we're coming together to implement a program for our survival. We're doing, rather than talking. The program is neither revolutionary, nor reformist, but more a means to an end. As one Brother put it after he received his groceries, "This will sure tide me over."

Uniting to vote for survival, to work for survival, to organize for survival was the theme, is the theme. Not only did the sixteen thousand come, but 13,282 were tested for Sickle Cell Anemia and 11,120 registered to vote. Yes, sixteen-thousand people, Black and other oppressed people, came together on March 29th, 30th and 31st, at the Oakland Auditorium, at Greenman Field in Oakland and San Pablo Park in Berkeley in the largest mass gathering of Black people since the time of Martin Luther King, to say we're going to survive, we're going to live like human beings, and this will tide us over until complete liberation.

Brother Lloyd Barbee spoke at Greenman Field and San Pablo Park. As a State Assemblyman (Wisconsin), an elected representative of the people, he carried the theme of the Conference in his words, which spoke of his righteous deeds. As an elected



Wisconsin State Assemblyman LLOYD BARBEE recognizes his duty to serve the people's basic survival needs.

official he recognizes his duty and obligation to serve the people's needs, our basic, survival needs. He also recognizes that the people have the power to guarantee that elected officials carry out their responsibilities, if we organize to level that power. The Black Community Survival Conference was the beginning of a thrust to do just that.

In an interview with the press, Assemblyman Barbee made his own feelings about the Conference and registering to vote for survival very clear:

Q: What do you think of all this?

A: I think it is an excellent effort to build for something constructive. I'm glad to be a part of it.

Q: Did you come out here specifically for this occasion?

A: Yes.

Q: And would you like to see something done like this in your own state?

A: Yes, I would. I think that we need something like this; and this appears to me to be a more practical and realistic way to start solving the problems, not only politically but economically.

Q: What particularly impresses you about the 3-day Conference?

A: That they're trying to bring together people for an issue, combining the health problems, along with the problems of food (what they call survival which I think is obviously a good symbol for this as opposed to something which is purely political, as we did in Gary). As an elected official, I am naturally interested in it, but I think that the issues are much more real and basic. And that's what is unique about this and why I like it.

Q: Did you attend the Black Conference in Gary?

A: Yes, I did.

Q: What was your feeling about that conference?

A: I thought that was a good beginning, politically, to get together around common Blackness. It was difficult to resolve all the problems, because of the many viewpoints of many people from many states. Whereas I think this is a much more non-controversial but original and basic way of going about Black survival.



10,000 Free, full bags of groceries were given away at the Black Community Survival Conference.

THIS WILL TIDE US OVER TO LIBERATION



Nearly 16,000 people came to unite for survival at the largest mass gathering of Black people since the time of Marting Luther King...



SISTER JOHNNIE TILLMAN, National Director of the National Welfare Rights Organization.



Not only did the sixteen thousand come, but 11,120 registered to vote.

Sister Johnnie Tillman, National Associate Director of the National Welfare Rights Organization, because she has the practical experience of living as a victim of a racist system that pawns off a Welfare check handout as a demonstration of human concern, expressed the feelings of the millions of Black and poor mothers and people who have long suffered without basic survival needs:

"...I'm certainly glad to see so many of you tonight. I'm going to assume that everyone knows what the National Welfare Rights Organization is, because we have a California Welfare Rights Organization, right here in the State of California. In fact, the National Welfare Rights Organization started in Watts, California. And it got its name from the Alameda County Welfare Rights Organization, in this part of the state. And since then, the organization has moved in all 50 states, including Puerto Rico, Guam and as far down as St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands. Our organization is not really an all-Black organization, but I can assure you that it is controlled by Black people. Our organization is trying to do some of the same things that other organizations are doing, such as the Black Panther Party; and I'm so glad to see that the Black Panther Party has taken this kind of step, because it's been in the minds of people for the last few years that they are all about something else. And I think that the Party has proven to us that they are all about Black people and they are not, in particular, about our trying to do away with anybody, but to only fight for survival.

"I think it's a shame that we in America have to fight so hard for survival, because we are American citizens. I don't understand why Black people are the last to get hired and the first to be fired; that we have to go to second-class schools; that we have to beg to survive in this rich country, when other folks have all the luxury of life, and tell us that we can't even have it. I don't understand it at all; and I think we are on the right road now to do something about it.

"As I said, I am not a great speaker, I'm an organizer. And I'm all about people being together, and especially Black people and I'm glad to see young folks out here and that young people are understanding at an early age that they are Black and not like we were who just found out or discovered we were Black a few years ago. I think we are doing the right thing now, in motivating and educating our children that they are Black people, and Black people are some of the greatest people in the world.

"The fact that we have had the hardest time for over 400 years; it blows the Man's mind to see that we are still here. We are still here. And we've been beaten, we've been put in jail, we've been drugged, but we still survived. I think the Black woman has really carried the burden of this nation on her shoulders for over 400 years. One thing the Black woman has done, she has produced children, for both Black men and white men. And all of a sudden, now that we don't produce white babies anymore, now they tell us that we're having too many... A lot of people feel that the welfare rolls are all Black people. I want you to know, ladies and gentlemen, through research, we've found that there are 6 white women on welfare to every Black one. We have to understand that there're lots of Black folks on welfare rolls, because 90% of the total Black population is poor. They have nowhere else to go. Many Black people come from the Southern states. We were in the fields...

"Our children are getting lead poisoning and all other kinds of poisoning, and we're still surviving and they don't understand that. So when I hear that the Black Panther Party has got a chicken in every basket, I would say, ladies and gentlemen, Brothers and Sisters, this is progress, and progress has no ending..."

THIS WILL TIDE US OVER TO LIBERATION



"We're not moving to implement survival programs because we're reformists, and we're not saying that the survival programs are revolutionary... But, the survival programs are tools and institutions by which we unify our people."

"All Power to the People! Power to the Black Community. Power to human beings in the world. Brothers and Sisters, people and human beings alike, it's good to see you here tonight. I hope many of you have decided. Those of you who are not registered to vote, go ahead and register to vote, because we're running a kind of revolution that involves our very lives. It involves our building what we call People's Power, starting in the heart of the Black community to the Chicano community to the Puerto Rican community even to the poor white community, all over this country; building People's Power all over the world, in unity with other oppressed peoples and other revolutionary peoples throughout the world. One thing we have to get together is this: why we have these survival programs; why is the Black Panther Party moving to implement survival programs. We're not moving to implement such programs because we're reformists, and we're not saying that the survival programs are revolutionary. But, the survival programs are tools and institutions by which we unify our people. When we implement what we call a People's Free Food program, we are implementing something that Black people and all poor oppressed people have a right to, and that's a right to eat. It's not necessary for people to be hungry in this country, when this is the most wealthy, technological society in the world; and everybody knows it is the most wealthy technological society in the world. You can look at any other country, any other land where people are producing. You will find more technology and you will find more wealth right here in this country.

"What I'm talking about is a people's human revolution. That revolution will not be like the revolution in Russia in 1917, nor will it be exactly like the revolution in China, on the day of victory in 1949. It will not even be like the revolution in Cuba; but it will be like the revolution here. Those were underdeveloped countries. Those people were starving, and those people built and worked and built and worked all over China. They're feeding all 800 million people. But, right here in America, from the Congressional reports, there are still 20 million people hungry, here in the most wealthy country in the world.



"Too many time they've tricked us, and lied to us, like they lied to my mama back in the '30's."

"Why? Why? You want to know why, Brothers and Sisters, because we've been lied to for 400 years. We've been jived for 400 years. We've been slicked for 400 years. We've been tricked for 400 years. We've been beat for 400 years, everytime we start moving to get some unity. We've been shot, killed, jailed and murdered for 400 years. We've been forced to struggle in agony and in pain - mothers worrying about where they're going to get shoes for their children when they go to school; people worrying about where they're going to get money to buy food. Look at all the Brothers who have turned around and gone out, what did they go out for when they decided to steal something and rob a bank or rob someplace - to get some new clothes, to get some new shoes. Well, the Black Panther Party has started right here in Oakland (we've already got the factory, the People's Free Clothing Factory right here in Oakland), and we're going to start producing free clothing, brand new clothing, good clothing for the people in the community, absolutely free. Absolutely free. We're going to start producing also in the People's Free Shoe Factory, the David Hilliard People's Free Shoe Factory, brand new shoes, boots, tennis shoes, children's shoes, work shoes, brand new shoes. We're going to run the rummage sale out of business, Brothers and Sisters, because the rummage sale is still selling junk. We're talking about giving away, absolutely free, new clothes, new shoes, just like we're giving away this food tonight (in a few minutes); and we're going to have a chicken in every bag. We say 'in every bag'.

"The politicians used to promise my mama, back in the 30's, a chicken in every pot. Well, we have opened up Free Breakfast for Children Programs; People's Free Medical Health Clinics; Sickle Cell Anemia Testing (we've tested over 50,000 people and it might be 60,000 before this Conference is over). All across this country, in the last 6 months, we've already given away 35,000 bags of groceries absolutely free to the people. We've opened up the clothing factory, the shoe factory, the prison programs - the free bussing programs, the free commissary for prisoners' programs; on a small scale, right now, we've got the People's Free Plumbing Service we're opening up; and the Free Ambulance Service. These are tools and institutions around which we should unify our votes. We unify our votes around things that serve us. Politics, from now on, should mean to the Black community implementing programs for community control of those institutions, and seeing to it that those institutions serve our basic desires and needs. That's when you begin to change the oppression.

"What I'm trying to say, Brothers and Sisters, is this, that from now on we don't need to be running around finding out what candidate we are going to endorse. What we do is stand in unity around our concrete survival programs and tell that politician he's got to endorse our survival programs. That's where we start at from now on. Too many times they've tricked us, and lied to us, like they lied to my mama back in the 30's. They used to say they were going to give a chicken in every pot just to get the votes; and after they got the votes, you got nothing. It went on year after year. They promised you this and they promised you that. Well, we are producing. Before the elections, after the elections, we've been producing with the Free Breakfast programs and all the other free programs, whether it's election time or not. We're producing a chicken in every bag. We've got free programs we're opening up and we might have another 15 programs in the next 2 years added to the 15 we already have. And, if necessary, when producing a chicken in every bag, if necessary we'll open up a Free Pot Program to cook the chicken in. You got that?

"Now, let me tell you something, Comrades, Brothers and Sisters, we're going to thank, we want to thank the Black businessmen in this community, for the number of donations and contributions they've made to this program, along with all the contributions the Party has put in there. We want to thank the Black Businesses and Cal-Pak Tavern and Liquor Owners Association too. We want to thank them too. All right? All right? You remember hearing about it. You heard about the boycott, didn't you? You remember it? Well, tonight, Brothers and Sisters, we're going to start off, we are going to start off with the first bags of groceries, and tomorrow in Greenman Field, we're going to have a smaller amount, but we're going to have the rest of them out at Greenman Field; and on Friday, there will be more in Berkeley. We're going to have them out there. And that boycott you heard us talk about - remember? - well, tonight we're going to produce something from it. You see what I mean? It was you who boycotted, not us. We just manned the picket lines, right? You were the ones. You boycotted and got this food. You understand that? You who boycotted are the ones who got the donations to get these sickle cell anemia tests. That was our unity. All we did was guide it the right way.

"However, at the same time, we want to thank the Black businessmen for all the contributions they've made to the programs for this Conference, for all the food we're giving away. And, at the same time, Brothers and Sisters, let us look around here, at all the white businesses in the Black community. From now on, we are going to define those businesses as Black businesses, because 80% of their business is Black people shopping in them. Right? So, it's high time that the white businesses in the Black Community, where 80% of the Black people are shopping, since we are defining them as Black businesses, since we shop there so much, it's high time that they start donating, on a weekly, continuous basis, some amount to these survival programs. All the white businessmen can start turning in their donations to the Black United Fund, because we have just begun, just begun with these 10,000, we're going to give away these 3 days.

"We've just begun. We're just beginning to organize unity and power. We're just beginning to come together with a right perspective about what revolution is all about. We're not going to be reading a whole lot of poetry anymore, because poetry doesn't feed us. We're not going to listen to a whole lot of jive speeches by some jive politicians, because those jive politicians and those speeches don't feed us and don't clothe us and don't shoe us. You understand that? They don't shoe the children, don't put shoes on the children; don't put food in the belly. This 10,000 here, is nothing.

"We're talking about getting down to the nitty gritty. You start watching for the news, watch for the new Black Panther Party newspaper, watch for the leaflets, for the next 10,000 Free Food Give-away, because it's coming right after this one. We're going to move on up, you see. We're not going to be talking about just what has to be done. Tonight, in revolutionary human spirit, with a respect for the power of the people and for Black people in the Black community and poor oppressed people, we're going to start implementing and doing, instead of talking...

All Power to the People!"



THIS WILL TIDE US OVER TO LIBERATION

It was a unity at the Black Community Survival Conference that could be seen in real terms, and felt in the songs, sung without instruments, of the Persuasions, with the culture of oppressed people being stomped and clapped-out, taking a new and revolutionary turn, as they sang, "... As long as I've got shoes to put on my feet/and food for my children to eat/EVERYTHING'S GOING TO BE ALL RIGHT..."



The only difference between Jesus and the Black Panther Party is that Jesus fed 5,000 and the Black Panther Party feeds 10,000.



The PERSUASIONS sing for the People: "...As long as I've got shoes to put on my feet/ and food for my children to eat/ EVERYTHING'S GOING TO BE ALL RIGHT..."

The feeling of unity was carried into the words of Father Earl Neil: "I'm going to be very, very brief... I just wanted to mention how beautiful a sight this is this evening; because about four years ago, almost to the date, in February of 1968, in this same room, in this same building, there was this same amount of people. We celebrated the first birthday party for the Servant of the People, Huey P. Newton. It was a very beautiful sight, because just like this evening, 99% of the audience was Black.

"Now, a whole lot of water has gone under the bridge, a whole lot of changes have gone down in the community; but this evening, the example that the Black Panther Party has set paid off...It is progress, indeed, because a lot of organizations would have been discouraged by the changes and all the violence and all the bloodshed and all the intimidation that has gone down in the last few years. But the Party has kept its head together; it has been committed to a program, and that program has been the survival of the Black community. And, tonight is an example to show that this dedication pays off...

"Some of you who have begun to write off the church, don't do that yet. Just stick to it and see what church is really supposed to be about... Jesus said what he was about was to visit the sick, to feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to visit those who are in prison. That's what the Black Panther Party is all about tonight. What the Party is about is the same thing that Jesus was about. The only difference between Jesus and the Black Panther Party is that Jesus fed 5,000 and the Black Panther Party is feeding 10,000. Now these efforts of the Party would not have been possible if it weren't for the efforts and the willingness of people throughout the community, whether they belong to the Party or not.

"One thing I think that we have to keep in mind, whether we're 18 years old, or whether we're 80 or 98 years old, or anywhere in between that, is that in the last few years what the press, what Nixon, what Reagan, what Alioto (San Francisco Mayor), what Reading (Mayor of Oakland), what Knowland (publisher of Oakland Tribune), what they have tried to do is to say that you cannot agree with the Black Panther Party, because of just this sort of thing. The point is that you know it. Let's not get hung up on our disagreements; but let's see where we can agree and where we can relate.

The Party has a 10-point program and you may not be able to relate to all of the points of the program. Rather than getting hung up on our disagreements and start fighting and arguing like that, let's look at the program and see what points of agreement we can reach and what we can work on. Tonight is an example that there're at least 2 or 3 points of the program that we can relate to: registering to vote, getting some health care and getting some food. Those are all points of the Black Panther Party program.

"You know what the Master used to do on the plantation, back in the days when we had legalized slavery, the way he kept control of the slaves was to keep them fighting among themselves. The Man tries to do the same thing today, although slavery may not be legalized - we are still all enslaved, and don't ever forget that. One way he keeps us under control is to keep us fighting and arguing among aurselves. But, it's time to end all that. Because when we are up here fighting and arguing among ourselves, over ideological differences, or over tactical differences, the Black community is suffering; and when we are doing that, when we are arguing among ourselves, rather than seeing what points of agreement we can reach and work on, we're nothing more than pimps. We're prostituting the Black community; and Nixon, Reagan, H. L. Hunt, Knowland and the rest of those crackers are the purchasers.

"Now, I'll just close by saying that you know these are just a couple of the programs that the Party is putting into operation, registering folks to vote, giving sickle cell anemia tests and feeding hungry people. The Party's going to be putting in more programs in the future, and what we'll need is the help of as many people in the Black community as we can get, to put these programs into effect, so we can return ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE! RIGHT ON!"



13,282 people received Free Sickle Cell Anemia tests at the Black Community Survival Conference.

THIS WILL TIDE US OVER TO LIBERATION

The Black Church has been, up until now, the only real mass meeting ground for most of our people. During the chattel slave period, the Church was the vehicle for liberation. Having slipped far from the images, however, of Reverend Nat Turner and Reverend Denmark Vesey, Black preachers are beginning to return to the role of instilling our people with more than the racist's stories about a "heavenly" promised land. This was not only clear in the words of Father Neil at the Black Community Survival Conference, but also in the support shown by Rev. Frank Pinkard:

"Brothers and Sisters, I'm glad to see you here tonight, because seeing you here tonight, together, as we are together, signifies the end of game-playing. That's kept us powerless and at the mercy of the oppressors for too long...

"For too long we have allowed those who would keep us divided to determine how we could come together. But, we come together tonight to demonstrate that we are a right-on people, a people who can thrive under oppression, a people who know what it is to be powerless, but a people who've never used half of the power that we have at our disposal. We come tonight, to serve notice on the Father, I say the Fathers who ran that game on us for a long time about the land of the brave: the home of the free if you're white and 21; the land of the brave if you have enough money to get yourself out of any predicament that you can buy your way out of. We've come together tonight to say that we don't have to ask anybody for freedom or power. We already have it. We brought it with us from the jungles of Africa.

"I appear before you tonight as a Black Churchman, but as a Black Churchman who's not ashamed of the Black Church, because I know that every worthwhile contribution that was ever brought our people out of situations of oppression came out of the Black Church, until we got that white Jesus bag run on us. Don't let anybody fool you. Jesus is nobody with blond hair and blue eyes. Jesus is a liberator, a feeling of power and freedom for people...

"Black Power didn't start in Mississippi with Stokely (all credit due to the Brother); but Black Power started back there with Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner. Black Power started back there with those brothers and sisters who accepted Christianity as a means to an end, and then discovered that within Christianity there was a means to freedom through a liberator who would not be tied down to any race, creed or color because he said all men should be free...

"Ever since I was a little boy in the church, I couldn't stand for the preachers to preach to me about walking golden streets up yonder and I had to walk these muddy dirty streets down here. Now it's time for us to come together as a people and to make these streets down here as much of a heaven as the streets that are any place else. Now there are two ways you can do that, Brothers and Sisters. The first way you can do that is being together the way you are tonight. Don't let anybody divide you or separate you. That's the first way. The second way is to recognize that we have got to understand that those brothers who got it together deserve our respect and we've got to determine who our leaders are and stop letting other folks tell us who to follow.



REV. FRANK PINKARD: "I appear before you as a Black Churchman, who's not ashamed to be a Black Churchman..."

"Now you all go on and register to vote... not only register to vote, but be careful about who you vote for. You see, because some of the brothers are going to run their game on you. They're going to run a game on you by talking like a bee with honey in their mouths and a stinger in their tail. As soon as the votes are counted, and they are in that position of high power, they're going to forget about the rats and the cockroaches and the crying babies and the brothers locked in jail with the keys thrown away.

"I'm thrilled tonight, to look out there and see you, to see you looking so beautiful... I say to you, Brothers and Sisters, Power to the People! Power to the People!"

CUT HERE



PEOPLE'S PETITION

FOR IMMEDIATE PAROLE OF BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD FROM THE CALIFORNIA PRISON SYSTEM OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND WITH A RETRIAL JURY OF HIS PEER-GROUP.

WE THE PEOPLE, RESIDENTS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY, IN THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERCOMMUNALISM, DO HEREBY REDRESS OUR GRIEVANCE AND PETITION THE COURTS OF AMERICA AND THE CALIFORNIA STATE GOVERNMENT AND PAROLE BOARD: THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE RELEASED FROM HIS PRISON INCARCERATION IN THE CALIFORNIA PENAL SYSTEM TO THE PEOPLE OF OUR COMMUNITIES ON PAROLE OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND.

BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD, POLITICAL PRISONER AND CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, WAS IN FACT WRONGFULLY CONVICTED ON FALSE CHARGES BY A PREDOMINATELY WHITE RACIST JURY, AS ALL MEMBERS OF THE OAKLAND BLACK COMMUNITY WERE SYSTEMATICALLY ELIMINATED FROM THE JURY SELECTION PROCESS IN HIS TRIAL.

IN LIGHT OF THESE FACTS, WE THE UNDERSIGNED, THEREFORE PETITION THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE GRANTED HIS HUMAN AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, THAT IS, PAROLE FROM PRISON OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND BY THE AMERICAN COURTS PENDING APPEAL OF HIS CASE BEFORE HIGHER COURTS, AND THAT HIS RETRIAL JURY BE OF HIS PEERS, A TRUE REPRESENTATION OF A CROSS SECTION OF THE COMMUNITY.

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RETURN ALL PETITIONS TO BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
1048 PERALTA STREET OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94607

DETROIT'S BLACK COMMUNITY STILL UNDER "STRESS"

FIFTEEN YEAR OLD MURDERED BY "STRESS" PIG



The McConnell family is not blind. They know that Curtis was viciously murdered.

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suddenly pulled out a .44 magnum revolver and began firing.

The first shot tore open the chest of Curtis McConnell, causing him to fall immediately to the ground. William Poole was hit in the shoulder. Brother Calvin Bush received the next shot, in his hand (which he may lose completely, or, at the least, lose control of it for the rest of his life), but managed to escape from the deranged Bodger. The next two shots barely missed Larry Biddings and Michael Jones, who were desperately trying to conceal themselves behind parked cars. Within seconds the back-up STRESS pigs were on the scene. They naturally jumped into action, brutally beating the Brothers with their guns.

After himself being attacked, Brother Larry asked the pigs about Curtis: "Shouldn't you call an ambulance for him?" The pig blankly turned and told Larry that Brother Curtis was dead. Just as matter-of-factly, he was told that if he did not keep quiet, he would join Curtis. For the following fifteen minutes, Larry and Michael sat in a police squad car watching their friend, Curtis, not yet dead (as the pigs had said), but certainly dying.

Brother William Poole, who had originally escaped the trigger-happy Harry Bodger, with only a shoulder wound, was eventually caught, and taken to Detroit General Hospital. Shortly after William had reached the hospital, the police brought in Curtis McConnell. He died a few minutes later. Calvin Bush, who had initially eluded the pigs, was arrested in the hospital, while attempting to get treatment for his hand.

Brothers Michael Jones and Larry Biddings were taken to jail, while Calvin and William remained in the hospital under police custody. While imprisoned, Larry and Michael were forced, by beatings and torture, into signing a prepared statement which said that all five Brothers had attempted to rob at knife point STRESS Unit pig Harry Bodger of five dollars.

On March 26th, the Brothers' case was brought to court in a preliminary hearing. With the exception of Calvin Bush (who was excluded from the hearing, because he is a juvenile), the Brothers' bond was set at 1,000 dollars each. Managing to pay their bails, they were released from custody.

At the arraignment, the court-appointed attorneys of Brothers Larry, William and Michael showed their role in this racist and fascist conspiracy by actually trying to waive the three Brothers' right to challenge the lies of the STRESS Unit pigs. Because of this, the families of the Brothers had to do everything to insist that the public defenders do their jobs. Therefore, it was because the three Brothers' parents were determined not to see their sons railroaded to prison, and because they continued their objections to racist Judge Samuel Olsens' flagrant abuse of the defendants' rights, that the parents were threatened with being thrown out of the courtroom. Bodger's lies came out, even in the courtroom whitewash: he was only able to identify the Brothers when they were placed in a particular seating order by the prosecution; also, Bodger claimed to have given one of the Brothers a marked five dollar bill, while later testifying that he did not see the bill until a clerk at the pig station marked it.

In the meantime, the Black community had been demonstrating its outrage over the entire incident. In fact, it was community pressure that caused Olsen, the judge, to try to separate their cases in a weak attempt to take the attention of the Black community away from the psychotic STRESS Unit.

In addition to everything else, the Detroit Police Department, and its cover-up agency, the Detroit General Hospital, never felt the need to notify the McConnell family of their son's murder. They had been lied to and deceived for three hours before they were informed to go to the General Hospital and identify "a hurt Black youth" who fitted the description of their son, Curtis. The pigs never bothered to tell the McConnell family that Curtis had been dead for two and one half hours.

In an attempt to further dupe the Black community, Detroit Mayor Roman Gribbs and his Police Commissioner John Nichols held a news conference where they stated they had revamped the STRESS Unit by initiating psychological testing for all officers who volunteered for STRESS duty. Gribbs and Nichols added that they would cut down on STRESS units and implement more "low flying helicopters" for the "protection" of the Black community instead.

The Detroit Black community is not blind. The McConnell family and the other oppressed Black families of Detroit denounce the STRESS Unit and all similar units across this racist country. Brother Curtis McConnell joins an ever increasing list of Black people killed by STRESS pigs. The Black people of Detroit know that we must organize to stop STRESS before STRESS stops us.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

"TRADITION" USED TO OPPRESS AFRICANS



Village women do a lot of work - in the fields, drawing water, cooking and gathering wood.

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encourages the continuation of destructive agricultural practices and the like.

Those people who romantically cherish traditional African culture - most of which they have read in library books written by white researchers - need to come to the interior of Africa and see how they are sadly mistaken. What is so great, for example, about the traditional practice of not even allowing women to speak in public?

The world is moving ahead at a hectic technological pace, yet among our people here, before one can even build a school, you must spend time explaining to the people what a school is. Then, after it is built, encourage them to send their children to it.

Many have frowned upon admitting these realities among our people, probably because we did not want to accept them. Nevertheless, they must be faced up to because they are true. The real work FRELIMO is doing is not just the fighting, but the nation building that goes on once the Portuguese are thrown out.

Portuguese rule did little to educate our people here in the interior. With FRELIMO, things are different. The people are being given a future and a chance to participate in that future and that is much a reason as any as to why they receive and support the guerrillas so warmly and loyally...

THE PROBLEMS OF NATION BUILDING

One of the real challenges of the African revolution involves our trying to provide for our people - wherever we may be - a new kind of life style, one with a marked improvement in their material and moral conditions. For those people fighting in Southern Africa, such as the people of Mozambique, who are struggling under the leadership of FRELIMO, this is as much important as is the war of liberation itself.

Once the Portuguese have been ousted, such as in the liberated areas of Niassa province where we visited, the Portuguese system and the type of African it produced and maintained must also be expelled. This process is part of what is sometimes called nation-building.

There are many obstacles to be faced in the process of nation-building inside liberated Mozambique; yet two seem to remain in one's mind most vividly. One is the legacy of the colonial experience and the second is the problem of African traditionalism. The two are not totally divorced from one another.

Some of the guerrilla leaders, such as Amilcar Cabral of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), have said that with the coming of the Portuguese it made us leave history - our history. African development was interrupted and in its place grew a history of colonial antagonisms and a subsequent subordination of African material development to the dictates of colonial oppression. This analysis is very accurate.

In their six centuries of illegitimate existence on the African continent, the Portuguese have done nothing to improve the living conditions of the Africans, especially those of our people in the interior, where FRELIMO is based. Among these people, who are representative of the average African, the colonial experience has been most damaging.

For the Portuguese, the betterment of the African population was never of any moral, political or economic value. It still isn't. As a matter of fact, the perpetuation of adverse conditions has worked to the Portuguese advantage. Thus, while the world moved ahead, the Portuguese made sure that their colonial subjects - our brothers and sisters - stayed out of step.

They used traditional structures to their advantage, undercutting chiefs' loyalties to their people, using them for purposes of indirect rule and continued subjugation. Nothing was ever said to or done for the Africans in terms of education, health care, scientific knowledge and practical skills, except where it was to the advantage of the Portuguese.

Moreover, by making sure that our people were kept secluded and cut off, they made sure there would be little interest in such things. Rather, the idea was pushed that over 500 years, nothing had changed, would change or was supposed to change.

True enough, our people have survived; but unlike powerful advocates of traditional culture would like to believe, there has been nothing all too rosy about that existence. And that is the second thing to be dealt with, traditional culture.

A second major problem to be encountered in nation building in Mozambique is not just the effect of Portuguese colonization, but also in trying to get people to reconsider traditional ways of doing things in lieu of more scientific and modern practices.

This kind of thinking may offend some who will say that this is trying to impose alien ideas on our people. Yet, perhaps a more exacting description of the situation, casting aside

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"TRAD IT ION" USED TO OPPRESS AFR ICANS

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for the moment the validity of such an assertion that all human progress is alien to Africans, will clarify the reality.

While in Mozambique, I had a chance to spend most of the time with people who still live at a real subsistence level - making it from month to month - living off the land, the type of life style which, for the most part, the average African leads. These people still practiced many aspects of traditional culture.

It made me think at once of a great deal of brothers and sisters in this country who avidly advocate that it is by going back to these values that we can best deal with the white man. This is both unfortunate and counter-revolutionary, without close examination of the strengths and weaknesses of those values.



FRELIMO meets with a village women's detachment. Each village is prepared to defend itself against Portuguese invasion.

For in many instances this traditionalism serves to add to the already intense problems caused by Portuguese colonization, making a further obstacle to developing a society which FRELIMO seeks - one that will eliminate man's oppression of man (and woman).

One of the most outstanding problems, for example, mentioned frequently in this series, is the question of the oppression of women. Traditionally, the men in some of the villages we visited were looked upon as warriors and hunters. That function having somewhat been replaced, many of those men, it seemed now had nothing to do.

Those who were not part of FRELIMO's military forces, often just sat in the villages allowing the women to do a lot of work, like working in the fields, drawing water, cooking and gathering wood. One was struck immediately by the waste of manpower as one group did nothing, while the other worked very hard.

It seems as though at a time when all of Africa has to harness every ounce of manpower for the freedom struggle, this kind of existence is somewhat out of place and non-functional.

Women are, in a traditional sense, never allowed into conversations, discussions, meetings and roles of major significance. In some instances, they are not allowed to speak publicly. In FRELIMO, obviously, this has been abandoned in lieu of total equality of men and women.

And in the instances where the young FRELIMO women come to villages and often, in political positions, address the people, other women are looking on seeing what these sisters are doing, how well they handle a job and noting their value to the liberation effort. Why then should such valuable potential go to waste?

FRELIMO, in its liberated areas, has several priorities, and in the establishment of two of these - hospitals and schools - the problems of traditionalism, as well as the colonial legacy, must also be dealt with.

FRELIMO, coming off the colonial experience, is trying to develop a high degree of literacy among the people. They try to develop as many possible schools for the younger children. Some of their efforts are hampered by the objective conditions of war. At times when they can, regular structures are set up as school buildings. At other times, however, a blackboard on a tree in the bush will have to do, for there is no telling when the Portuguese will strike next.

•FRELIMO school teachers must be organizers of sorts, for one of their first tasks is to convince the parents that children in the villages should go to school. Most of these people cannot themselves read or write. They have not been exposed to ideas through books, but only from the stories they have heard.

Classes for children of many ages are on the same level, since there is often very little difference in the reading skills of those five years-old and those twice their age. Needless to say, schools for Africans have always exercised low priority in Portuguese development plans.

The classes are taught in Portuguese, which FRELIMO has adopted as a functional language. Here again, traditionalists will complain; yet it seems as though this is a very practically based decision, being that it has an already existent body of scientific and educational literature, more so than most of the developed African languages and the mass of indigenous tongues spoken in Mozambique, mostly on a local or regional level.

Mathematics, reading and writing are the basics which are taught. At one of the places we stopped, FRELIMO had just begun to develop an orphanage. Here there were about 10 children, some whose parents had been killed by the war, others whose families were away fighting. Unlike the professional institutions that

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"TRADITION" USED TO OPPRESS AFRICANS



In a FRELIMO orphanage, the warmest possible atmosphere is created for the children, some of whose parents have been killed in the war; others' families are away fighting.



FRELIMO places a priority on the establishment of hospitals in the liberated areas. The level of sterility and cleanliness in the hospitals is remarkable, considering the lack of running hot and cold water and flushing toilets.

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abound in this country, these places try in earnest to create the warmest possible atmosphere for these Mozambican children. It is another of FRELIMO's ways of assuring the population that they are concerned about all of the people and children of Mozambique.

Another problem to be dealt with is that of health care. Our people here have survived, true enough, but not without hardship. Throughout all of Africa, the infant mortality rate is high, due to a lack of proper pre-natal and post-natal care. Mozambique seemed to be no exception.

There were some children who had been crippled by birth defects, and others showed signs of having ring worm and possibly malnutrition and vitamin deficiency. Many of the sisters' breasts seemed either raw or infected for various reasons. And of course these problems are in addition to the constant question of how to deal with war-time injuries.

Much of the traditional medicine has not eliminated this. Many of the traditional medicine men don't even use medicine. And although some have become talented practitioners, using natural remedies, nevertheless health is still a major problem.

The first hospitals (and the only ones in these areas) came with the FRELIMO forces. In the area we visited, a few Italian doctors had come in and trained a corps of FRELIMO medical officers who in turn tutored local people in basic bio-medical practices such as administering shots and the like.

A very important realization inside liberated Mozambique is that of living on the ground, so to speak, totally unlike even the most underdeveloped of cities, one is completely without such things as flushing toilets and running hot and cold water. Recognizing this, it is remarkable at the level of sterility and cleanliness maintained in medical settings by the people of Mozambique. In such situations, cleanliness, per se, becomes a relative kind of thing, and the degree to which our people deal with this problem is admirable indeed.

While in Mozambique, I was adopted as a son by a brother named Mpanda. He was 72 years old; yet in looking at him, his strong physical character would never have led you to believe that. Mpanda held some political position in his area, yet by traditional standards he was quite important, for in addition to having three wives, he was in fact the head of an extended family in that village which included some 125 persons.

Mpanda was very aware of the necessity for the struggle against the Portuguese, and he often talked of it the many times we visited each other. He would, in his conversations, always emphasize the fact that the Portuguese were outsiders and had to be driven out. He was proud that two of his sons were active in FRELIMO and were helping to expel these invaders. He understood the necessity of developing schools and hospitals, and, in short, he represented the kind of Mozambican people that are being developed by FRELIMO's programs and actions.

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MPANDA, 72 years old, is very aware of the necessity for the struggle against the Portuguese.

"TRADITION" USED TO OPPRESS AFRICANS

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In fact, it showed how the FRELIMO programs filter down to the most basic levels. This was obvious in many ways. On the trail, for example, every group of civilians we encountered was armed. Not every person had a gun, but FRELIMO had made sure that each village was adequately prepared to defend itself from Portuguese invaders.

The people reciprocated this total FRELIMO integration into the masses. Many of them carried loads long distances for the guerrillas, supplied them with food and the like. With such total devotion and involvement, it was hard to tell the difference between the civilians and the army. FRELIMO is in fact the people of Mozambique in arms.

FRELIMO has many local committees - civilian and military - which operate on district and provincial levels. While there, we witnessed a great many meetings of a give-and-take nature. Sometimes the women would meet alone to discuss their own problems, or deal with difficulties they were having with the brothers. Many times after dinner, there would be lengthy sessions dealing with basic concepts. At these meetings, everyone was free to express his opinion and many did.

Armando Gubuza, the National Political Commissar, met constantly while we were moving about. People came to him to get things off their chests; they were in fact encouraged to do so. There was no atmosphere of military dictatorship. In fact, it was just the opposite.

These are the many ways in which FRELIMO is working to liberate not just their land, but also the man on it. It is an all encompassing struggle, carried on in a most remarkable way under the most challenging conditions - constant armed struggle.

SEE NEXT ISSUE FOR PART III

"THIS SURE WILL TIDE ME OVER TO THE NEXT CHECK"

